

## Message Text

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SUBJ: 5TH CPPCC AND 5TH NPC SESSIONS: FIRST IMPRESSIONS

REF: PEKING 509

1. SUMMARY. FOLLOWING IMMEDIATELY ON THE ADJOURNMENT OF  
THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE (REFTEL),  
THE 5TH CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE (CPPCC)  
OPENED ON FEBRUARY 24 AND THE 5TH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC)  
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OPENED ON FEBRUARY 26. COMMUNIQUE, EXCERPTS FROM WORK REPORTS,  
SPECIAL NEWS FEATURES AND EDITORIALS RELEASED IN CONNECTION WITH  
THE TWO STATE CONCLAVES HAVE PREDICTABLY HIGHLIGHTED THE  
POST-GANG OF FOUR RETURN TO NORMALCY, LEGITIMACY AND STABILITY  
IN ALL SPHERES OF CHINESE LIFE. SNIPING AMONG LEADERSHIP  
FACTIONS WHICH CONTINUES TO FIND EXPRESSION IN THE NATIONAL PRESS  
HAS BEEN PUT IN ABEYANCE FOR THE DURATION OF THE MEETINGS. THAT

A DELIBERATE EFFORT HAS BEEN MADE TO CONVEY AN IMPRESSION OF LEADERSHIP HARMONY AND SOLIDARITY IS EVIDENCED BY THE APPEARANCE OF DISGRACED SINKIANG LEADER SAIFUDIN, AN ALTERNATE POLITBURO MEMBER, WITH HIS POLITBURO COLLEAGUES ON THE LEADING BODIES OF THE SESSIONS. PRELIMINARY SCANNING OF NAME LISTS REVEALS NO SURPRISES; ALL ABLE-BODIED POLITBURO MEMBERS SHOWED UP. PARTY CHAIRMAN AND PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG HAS ENJOYED THE LION'S SHARE OF THE LIMELIGHT THUS FAR, ALTHOUGH SIGNIFICANT SYMBOLIC AND SUBSTANTIVE TASKS HAVE ALSO BEEN PARCELED OUT TO YEH CHIEN-YING, TENG HSIAO-PING, LI HSIEN-NIEN, AND CHI TENG-KUEI. IF ANY CHANGE IN THE EXISTING LEADERSHIP BALANCE OCCURRS -- WHICH SEEMS INCREASINGLY UNLIKELY -- THIS WILL BECOME CLEAR ONLY WHEN THE ROSTER OF STATE APPOINTMENTS IS RELEASED IN A FEW DAYS. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING IMMEDIATELY ON THE ADJOURNMENT OF THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE 11TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE (REFTTEL), THE 5TH CPPCC AND THE 5TH NPC OPENED AS SCHEDULED ON FEBRUARY 24 AND FEBRUARY 26 RESPECTIVELY.

3. THE CPPCC, A NONDECISIONMAKING ORGANIZATION WHICH SERVES AS A "CONSULTATIVE" UMBRELLA FOR THOSE WHO DO NOT BELONG TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY, HAD NOT CONVENED FOR 13 YEARS OWING, ALLEGEDLY, TO THE OPPOSITION OF THE GANG OF FOUR. THE CPPCC IS NOW BEING REVIVIFIED WITH THE FULL SUPPORT AND SANCTION OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP (WHICH TURNED OUT AT THE OPENING SESSION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EN MASSE TO BESTOW ITS BLESSING) TO SERVE AS A MAJOR ORGAN OF SO-CALLED UNITED FRONT WORK. IN HIS REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE 4TH CPPCC, VICE CHAIRMAN HSU TEH-HENG CLEARLY SPELLED OUT THE ORGANIZATION'S ROLE: "THE GANG OF FOUR SLANDERED, ATTACKED AND PERSECUTED THE BROAD MASSES OF INTELLECTUALS AND PATRIOTS ... TRIED TO FOMENT SPLITS AMONG THE NATIONALITIES AND UNDERMINED THE ENFORCEMENT OF POLICY ON OVERSEAS CHINESE AFFAIRS AND ON RELIGION." NOT SURPRISINGLY, THEREFORE, COVERAGE OF THE SESSION GAVE PROMINENCE TO PRECISELY THESE GROUPS. THE PANCHEN LAMA REEMERGED TO CONFESS HIS EARLIER MISTAKES; NATIONAL MINORITY DELEGATES WERE INTERVIEWED; PEKING UNIVERSITY'S ESTEEMED SCIENTIST CHOU PEI-YUAN WAS FEATURED; AMERICAN DOCTOR MA HAI-TEH (GEORGE HATEM) WAS AWARDED A SEAT ON THE SESSIONS PRESIDUM; AND SO ON.

4. TENG HSIAO-PING SERVED AS "EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN" OF THE SESSION, A SYMBOLIC FUNCTION PRESUMABLY ASSIGNED TO DEMONSTRATE TENG'S PERSONAL ASSOCIATION WITH THE TYPE OF UNITED FRONT WORK TYPIFIED BY THE CPPCC. ALTHOUGH SEVERAL FOREIGN JOURNALISTS TOOK TENG'S CHAIRING OF THE SESSION AS A STRONG HINT THAT HE WOULD WIN THE PREMIERSHIP AT THE NPC, IT SEEMS MORE LIKELY THAT TENG'S ASSIGNMENT WAS MERELY PART OF A NATURAL DIVISION

OF LABORS AMONG THE TOP LEADERSHIP (TENG THUS FAR HAS NOT SPECIFIC ROLE AT THE NPC ALTHOUGH HE MAY WELL DELIVER A CLOSING ADDRESS).

5. THUS FAR THE NPC HAS BEEN VERY MUCH HUA KUO-FENG'S SHOW. HUA DELIVERED A 3 1/2 HOUR REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT, EXCERPTS OF WHICH HAVE BEEN BROADCAST BY PEKING RADIO ON FEBRUARY 26 AND 27. JUDGING FROM THESE BRIEF EXCERPTS (THE FULL TEXT MAY BECOME AVAILABLE FOLLOWING ADJOURNMENT OF THE NPC), HUA DELIVERED HIS FAMILIAR SPIEL NOTING THE "SHARP STRUGGLE" SINCE THE 4TH NPC, RECOUNTING THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE GANG OF FOUR, REPROCLAIMING AN OFFICIAL END TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, INVOKING THE BANNER OF CHAIRMAN MAO AND THE EXAMPLE OF PREMIER CHOU, CALLING FOR "RECTIFICATION AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PREPARATION AGAINST WAR" FOR THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY, REAFFIRMING THE CORRECTNESS OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S "REVOLUTIONARY DIPLOMATIC LINE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS" AND HIS "THEORY OF THE THREE WORLDS," AND APPEALING FOR NATIONAL UNITY AND STABILITY IN THE QUEST FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS BY THE YEAR 2000.

6. THESE SAME THEMES WERE EMPHASIZED BY A JOINT EDITORIAL PUBLISHED BY PEOPLE'S DAILY, LIBERATION ARMY DAILY AND RED FLAG IN CONNECTION WITH THE TWO MEETINGS. ENTITLED "A MAJOR MOVE IN CONTINUING THE LONG MARCH," THE EDITORIAL IS EFFUSIVE IN PRAISE OF CHAIRMAN HUA: "WE FEEL OURSELVES MOST FORTUNATE TO HAVE A WISE LEADER LIKE CHAIRMAN HUA, AND ARE CONFIDENT A HUNDRED FOLD." LIKE HUA'S ADDRESS, THE EDITORIAL TAKES AN UPBEAT TONE ("WHAT GREAT VICTORIES WE SCORED DURING THESE BREATHTAKING THREE YEARS"). IT NOTES "A NEW LEAP FORWARD" EMERGING IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND CALLS ON ALL TO WORK FOR REALIZATION OF THE FOUR MODERNIZATION -- TERMED THE BEHESTS OF BOTH CHAIRMAN MAO AND PREMIER CHOU.

7. SNIPING AMONG LEADERSHIP FACTION WHICH CONTINUED TO FIND EXPRESSION IN THE NATIONAL PRESS ON THE EVE OF THE MEETINGS HAS BEEN PUT IN ABEYANCE FOR THE DURATION. THAT A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE TO CONVEY AN IMPRESSION OF LEADERSHIP HARMONY AND SOLIDARITY IS EVIDENCED BY THE APPEARANCE OF THE INDISPUTABLY DISGRACED SINKIANG LEADER SAIFUDIN, AN ALTERNATE POLITBURO MEMBER, WITH HIS POLITBURO COLEAGUES ON THE LEADING BODIES OF THE VARIOUS SESSIONS.

8. PRELIMINARY SCANNING OF NAME LISTS REVEALS NO SURPRISES AND NO SHUFFLING OF RANKINGS; ALL ABLE-BODIED POLITBURO MEMBERS SHOWED UP FOR THE 11TH CENTRAL COMMITTEE 2ND PLENUM, THE 5TH CPPCC, AND THE 5TH NPC. (THE LONG-AILING LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LIU PO-CHENG WAS NOT PRESENT AND THE ELDERLY HSU HSIANG-CHIEN MISSED A COUPLE OF SESSIONS.) ALTHOUGH PARTY CHAIRMAN AND PREMIER HUA KUO-FENG HAS ENJOYED THE LION'S SHARE OF THE LIMELIGHT THUS FAR, SIGNIFICANT SYMBOLIC AND SUBSTANTIVE TASKS HAVE ALSO BEEN PARCELED OUT TO YEH CHIEN-YING, TENG HSIAO-PING, LI HSIEN-NIEN, AND CHI TENG-KUEI. YEH OPENED THE 5TH NPC AND IS ASSIGNED TO DELIVER THE REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE STATE CONSTITUTION; LI HSIEN-NIEN WAS ELECTED SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE SESSION; AND CHI TENG-KUEI WAS NAMED CHAIRMAN OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE.

9. THE ODDS SEEM BETTER FOR HUA KUO-FENG TO RETAIN HIS STATE POSITION (PREMIER) AND PERHAPS TO EVEN PICK UP A NEW POSITION WELL. HUA'S LISTING AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE PRESIDIUM OF THE NPC -- WHICH HAS NOT BEEN DONE IN THE PAST FOR PARTY CHAIRMAN MAO -- COULD FORESHADOW HIS APPOINTMENT AS CHAIRMAN OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NPC (OR HEAD OF STATE).

10. IF ANY CHANGE IN THE EXISTING LEADERSHIP BALANCE OCCURS -- AND THIS SEEMS UNLIKELY -- THIS WILL BECOME CLEAR ONLY WHEN THE ROSTER OF STATE APPOINTMENTS IS RELEASED IN A FEW DAYS. WOODCOCK UNQUOTE VANCE

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